

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01      WARSAW 03789 261130Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 BIB-01 DHA-02 /061 W  
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R 261035Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8381  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 3789

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR PL XH  
SUBJ: GOP PROTEST ON RADIO FREE EUROPE

1. THE DCM WAS CALLED TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY MAY 25 TO RECEIVE A STRONG ORAL PROTEST AGAINST RADIO FREE EUROPE FROM AMBASSADOR TADEUSZ WUJEK, DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PRESS, CULTURE, AND SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION. ALSO PRESENT WAS MRS. JADWIGA PASTECKA, AN ADVISER IN THE SAME DEPARTMENT.

2. WUJEK BEGAN BY REFERRING TO THE GOOD STATE OF U.S. - POLISH BILATERAL RELATIONS, WHICH HE SAID THE GOP WISHED TO "CONSOLIDATE AND INTENSIFY." HE SAID THE POLISH SIDE BELIEVES POSSIBILITIES ARE GOOD FOR FURTHER POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF TIES. ONE SERIOUS PROBLEM DIMMING FUTURE PROSPECTS, HOWEVER, IS RFE. THE RADIO PLAYS AN "ALIEN ROLE" IN OUR RELATIONS, ACCORDING TO WUJEK, WHICH HAS PROMPTED THE GOP TO LODGE ANOTHER PROTEST AND  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02      WARSAW 03789 261130Z

TO EXPRESS AGAIN ITS POSITION.

3. MRS. PASTECKA THEN PROCEEDED TO READ FROM DETAILED NOTES. SHE SAID THE POLISH GOVERNMENT STARTS WITH THE ASSUMPTION THAT RFE IS AN OFFICIAL U.S. GOVERNMENT RADIO STATION, AUTHORIZED AND FUNDED BY THE CONGRESS. THEREFORE, THE USG MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR ITS ACTIVITIES, BOTH AS REGARDS ITS PROGRAM CONTENT AND

ITS ADHERENCE TO INTERNATIONAL LAW. CONCERNING THE FORMER, THE POLISH GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THE RADIO'S REAL AIM TO BE A CHANGE IN THE POLISH POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORDER. IT DOES THIS BY USING THE MOSE PERNICIOUS PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES. PASTECKA CHARGED THE RADIO WITH "URGING RESISTANCE BY THE POLISH POPULATION TO ESTABLISHED ORDER." THIS IS DONE BY SLANDERING POLISH LEADERS, INSULTING THE GOVERNMENT, AND VILIFYING THE SOCIAL ORDER. RFE USES "HITLERITE TECHNIQUES OF DISINFORMATION AND SOWING OF CON-FUSION." ON THE LEGAL SIDE, SHE SAID THE IDENTIFICATION OF BROADCASTS AS "POLISH" IS A VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL TELE-COMMUNICATIONS AGREEMENTS, AS IS THE STATION'S FAILURE TO IDENTIFY ITS LOCATION. FURTHER, THE EXISTENCE AND CONTENT OF THE RADIO "COLLIDE" WITH THE UN CHARTER, THE UN COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE CSCE FINAL ACT, AND THE POLISH CRIMINAL CODE (ARTICLES 270, 271, AND 282). FINALLY, PASTECKA SAID, RFE CANNOT BE CON-SIDERED AS CONTRIBUTING TO THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION AND EXCHANGE OF IDEAS. IT BELONGS TO THE CATEGORY OF ILLEGAL, SUBVERSIVE, QUASI-INTELLIGENCE, PROPAGANDA ORGANS WHICH ARE REALLY THE CONCERNS OF "OTHER AGENCIES," NOT MINISTRIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEPARTMENTS OF STATE. THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ARE WELL AWARE, SHE SAID, OF THE CIA'S ORIGINAL INVOLVEMENT IN RFE; SOME OF THE SAME PEOPLE ASSOCIATED EARLIER WITH THE RADIO ARE STILL IN RESPONSIBLE POSITIONS AND "CERTAIN INSTITUTIONS" CONTINUE TO EXERT SUPERVISORY INFLUENCE. SHE SAID THE MFA ASSUMES THAT NEITHER THE EMBASSY NOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS IN A POSITION TO DICTATE POLICY TO RFE, BUT THE GOP IS COUNTING ON THE EMBASSY TO CHANNEL ITS CONCERNS ABOUT THIS "HOSTILE, ILLEGAL, AND SUBVERSIVE" ACTIVITY TO THE PROPER AUTHORITIES.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03     WARSAW 03789 261130Z

4. IN RESPONSE, THE DCM SAID THAT HE REGRETTED VERY MUCH THAT THE POLISH SIDE FELT COMPELLED TO EXPRESS ITS DISPLEASURE OVER RFE IN SUCH STRONG TERMS. HE SAID THE SUBJECT OF RFE HAD BEEN DISCUSSED MANY TIMES BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U.S. AND POLISH GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS. THE U.S. HAS REPEATEDLY STATED ITS CONVICTION THAT THE EXISTENCE OF THE RADIO IS IN FULL ACCORD WITH INTERNATIONAL UNDERTAKINGS AND WITH THE GENERAL COMMITMENT OF OUR GOVERNMENT TO THE FREER FLOWS OF IDEAS AND PEOPLE. WE HAVE ALSO ASKED THE POLISH GOVERNMENT TO GIVE US SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF BROADCASTS IT CON-SIDERS IN VIOLATION OF THE RADIO'S PUBLISHED GUIDELINES. WE HAD RECEIVED VERY LITTLE IN THE WAY OF SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS. MRS. PASTECKA INTERRUPTED TO SAY THAT THE GOP ON "MANY OCCASIONS" HAD DOCUMENTED ITS DISSATISFACTION, BUT HAD NEVER RECEIVED A REPLY TO ANY OF ITS WRITTEN COMPLAINTS. THE DCM SAID HE WAS UNAWARE OF THESE "MANY OCCASIONS." IN ANY EVENT, HE SAID, WE TOO, ON THE AMERICAN SIDE, WERE ANXIOUS TO CONTINUE TO IMPROVE BILATERAL RELATIONS, WHICH WE FELT HAD BEEN GIVEN NEW STIMULUS BY VICE MINISTER SPASOWSKI'S RECENT TRIP TO THE U.S. WE STAND

READY TO DISCUSS RFE AT ANY TIME, BUT NOT ON THE BASIS OF DIS-  
MANTLING THE STATION. FURTHERMORE, LANGUAGE OF THE TYPE USED  
DURING THIS MEETING DID NOT ESTABLISH A FRAMEWORK FOR CONSTRU-  
CTIVE DIALOGUE.

5. COMMENT: THE POLES WERE CAREFUL IN CHOOSING THE TONE AND  
LEVEL OF THIS PROTEST. ON THE ONE HAND, THEY HAVE CLEARLY  
STEPPED UP THE TEMPO -- AND THE TEMPERATURE -- OF THEIR UN-  
HAPPINESS OVER THE RADIO. THIS SHOULD BRING THEM INTO LINE  
WITH THE SOVIETS AND SOME OF THEIR EASTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES IN  
THEIR CONDEMNATION OF WHAT COMES OUT OF RFE/RL. ON THE OTHER  
HAND, BY CHANNELING THEIR PROTEST THROUGH A SECTION OF THE  
FOREIGN MINISTRY CONCERNED WITH A NARROWER ASPECT OF OUR  
BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AND BY DIRECTING IT TO THE SECOND  
ECHELON OF THE EMBASSY, THEY ARE PROBABLY TRYING TO AVOID LETTING  
THIS ISSUE IMPINGE TOO DIRECTLY ON THE MORE GENERAL STATE OF  
BILATERAL RELATIONS. SO FAR AS WE KNOW, MRS. PASTECKA'S CHARGE  
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PAGE 04      WARSAW 03789 261130Z

THAT THE GOP HAS DOCUMENTED ITS COMPLAINTS ON "MANY OCCASIONS"  
IS EXAGGERATED. WE RECALL A LIST OF COMPLAINTS ABOUT SPECIFIC  
SCRIPTS FOLLOWING THE GIEREK VISIT IN 1974 AND ANOTHER LIST  
HANDLED THE EMBASSY'S COUNSELOR FOR PRESS AND CULTURE ON MAY 26,  
1976. WE BELIEVE THE USG SHOULD RESPOND TO FUTURE SPECIFIC  
COMPLAINTS ABOUT RFE PROGRAMS. OTHERWISE, WE LAY OURSELVES  
OPEN TO THE SAME CHARGE OF UNRESPONSIVENESS WE LEVEL AT THE  
POLES ON THE DIVIDED-FAMILIES ISSUE.  
END COMMENT.  
DAVIES

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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